175 but now Russification was carefully forced upon
177 the population, especially in connection with the schools, courts, and the police system. Russian became the language taught in the schools, and those teachers who spoke no Russian were often replaced by native Russians. Russian clerks and officials were imported to Estonia. The leaders of this Russification movement were the special governors in Estonia and Livonia, while local government remained in the hands of the German nobles. In order to prevent native leaders from rising, the usual policy was to send those Estonians with a university education to Russia rather than to give them positions in their homeland.

175 The two prominent Estonian leaders of the
668 period, Jakob Hurt and C. R. Jakobson, instead of uniting in the struggle for national unity

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clashed openly over Jakobson's struggle with the German nobles and, at the same time, the German clergy, and two factions grew up around these two men. After the death of Jakobson in 1882, his party openly stood for Russification--something Jakobson himself would never have
[814] condoned. As a result of the party squabble, the Society of Estonian Literary Men[1] failed and was disbanded.

Nevertheless, the Estonians continued to grow numerically and economically. By the end of the century, they had started to recover from the paralysis of Russification. Courageous young leaders appeared in the two most important centers of public life. At Tartu, Jaan Tõnisson, a lawyer, became the editor of the daily Postimees (Postman) in 1896, which stood for Estonian nationalism. Tõnisson became the

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 29--Analyst]

175 668 leader of the liberal national movement in southern Estonia, fighting against the privileges of the German nobility. More radical was the other daily, Teataja (Announcer) at Tallinn, the editor of which became, in 1901, Konstantin Päts, also a lawyer, and later President of the Estonian Republic. A great achievement for K. Päts and the Teataja group was the victory of the Estonians in the municipal elections at Tallinn in 1904, when Jaan Poska was elected mayor and took over the rule of the municipality from the Germans.

175 669 The revolutions of 1905 and 1917. After the unpopular Russo-Japanese War in which Russia was defeated, revolts broke out all over the Russian Empire and reached even to the Baltic. While the revolution of 1905 in Russia proper

642 in 1932, Estonia entered into a period of constitutional and political crisis aggravated by the world-wide economic difficulties and the rising Fascism and Nazism. Riigikogu drafted a new Constitution but a referendum in August, 1932, rejected it. The same fate befell the second draft of the Constitution which Riigikogu proposed in June, 1933. This failure was due to the very vigorous agitation on the part of the War of Liberation Soldiers' League (Vabadussõjalaste Liit), better known by its Estonian abbreviation, VABS.

668 VABS was first a veterans' league only and had no political ambitions before the early 1930's. Then civilians began to be admitted into the League until it grew into a large extremely right-wing movement in which ex-servicemen were only a small fraction. Their

668 leaders were young energetic men, the most popular of them a lawyer named Artur Sirk. They adopted the tactics and ideas of Italian, German and Finnish Lapua authoritarian movements and stirred up antagonism and resentment in a good part of the nation against the government and the Constitution. VABS prepared a new draft of the Constitution which gave the President almost a dictator's power and on the referandum in October, 1933, this draft was approved. The Old Farmers' Party (K. Päts) supported it in order to break the vicious circle of the constitutional crisis. J. Tõnisson's cabinet, which was the last coalition government, resigned and a nonparty government under the leadership of K. Päts then took office. When the VABS Constitution came into being on January 24, 1934, the agitation on the part of VABS

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668 continued, with the aim now of overtaking the
642 Päts government. To prevent these totalitarian elements from seizing the leadership of the whole nation, Päts used the new powers given him in the new Constitution and on March 12, 1934, proclaimed a state of emergency, appointing again General Laidoner as Commander-in-Chief. On December 8, 1935, the VABS leaders had planned a coup d'état, but Päts' government was able to stop the revolt within a few hours of the scheduled time of action, and many VABS leaders were sent to prison. A. Sirk and some others had already been arrested earlier, but had managed to escape abroad where Sirk, soon after the failure of the coup d'état, took his own life.

642 Although the VABS danger was now nullified, the nation was still sick and needed time to

642 recover. Now followed a "time of silence;" political parties and even Riigikogu were dissolved, and in this transition period Päts was busy making preparations for passing a new and better [668] constitution. With his support, the Patriotic League (Isamaa Liit) was founded for the purpose of giving popular support to the government, especially during the time of the new referendum. The professional and working classes were organized into corporate bodies; in addition to the three existing chambers (Commerce, Industry, Agriculture), fifteen new ones were organized. A National Assembly drafted in 1937 a new Constitution which came into force on January 1, 1938.

This new Constitution provided for a two-chamber Riigikogu: the House of Representatives

725 started to desert and to escape again across the Gulf of Finland.

727 642 During the German occupation Estonia was ruled by a Governor-General (Generalkommissar) and by provincial governors in each county. An Estonian puppet government was also appointed, headed by Dr. Hjalmar Mäe, which, however, lacked the confidence of the Estonian people.

668 [643] Estonian patriots, under the leadership of Professor Jüri Uluots, the last Prime Minister, tried everything to restore Estonian independence. But the Germans did not grant independence to any conquered nation, and so gradually an underground resistance movement grew in all the conquered countries. Resistance cells were working underground also in Estonia.[1] The Gestapo discovered them and arrested many

[1] [for wartime partisans see cat 116, pp 66-68--Analyst]

668 Estonian nationalists in April, 1944. Some of them were released only shortly before the end of the German occupation.

727 471 Economically Estonia did not fare any better under German occupation than she did under the Soviets. Economic exploitation of the country continued. Only twelve per cent of the nationalized land was given back to the owners and in only a very few cases was private property returned. As a rule, the Germans did not restore ownership of nationalized property.

[437] Food rations for the people were so meager that no one could live without the help of the black market.

721 In the winter of 1943-44 the retreating Germans brought their front close to Estonia again. The great Soviet air raid on Tallinn on the night of March 9th, burned and destroyed much of the

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167 The leaders of the Estonian people are now outside the home country as exiles in Sweden, England, the United States and Canada. The Exile Government of the Estonian Republic, established in 1953 with its seat in Stockholm, Sweden, has as its acting President the oldest living minister of the last K. Pats' government, August Rei, who belonged to the last cabinet as Estonia's ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in Mos-
668 cow. The most important national organizations of the Estonians in exile are the Estonian National Council in Sweden and the Estonian National Committee in New York City.

665 668 constitutional crisis in the 1930 s. The VABS League developed into an extreme right-wing party which had great political ambitions, but which was rather short-lived. Isamaa Liit (Patriotic League) was founded by K. Päts in February, 1935, at a time when the activities of the political parties were banned. It gave popular support to the government and assisted with the forth-coming referendum and election of the National Assembly.

666 The election of the Parliament, or Riigikogu, were the most important in Estonia. The Riigikogu was based on proportional representation, and elections were carried out under direct, universal, equal and secret suffrage. According to the First Estonian Constitution, the procedure of elections was as follows: the political parties nominated their candidates and printed the lists

177 by the aggressive policy of denationalization of the Livonians by the Latvian church and schools. Church services have always been held in Latvian, even though the congregation in
[191] former times did not understand it. In the schools the Latvian teachers punished the speakers of Livonian by beating them and sending them to stand in the corner. Livonian was
[166] laughed at and called the "horse language." An especially strong blow was dealt to Livonianism during the first World War when all the Livonians had to leave their homes and spend several years among the Latvians or the Russians. When after the war they returned to their homes, the younger generation hardly knew any Livonian at all. Loorits, who visited these people in 1920, gives the following description: "Livonian is known in all villages, but it is a half-dead language which is usually not spoken. There are still families who speak Livonian, but even more numerous are those where the children do not know any Livonian at all." (Liivi rahva olevik, p. 76.)

After the war, the academic circles of free Estonia and Finland tried to assist in the preservation of the small Livonian ethnic group, but the Latvians, on the other hand, did everything possible to accelerate their assimi-
177 lation. The Livonians' dream of having their
668 own county was, after great efforts made by the Livonians, finally granted by one Latvian government but refused by the next one. Lead-

177 ing Livonian patriots were investigated and
[668] frequently molested by the police. The teaching of Livonian was to some extent tolerated in the schools (two hours a week as an elective), but the futility of it was preached incessantly.
[517] In the 1930's there developed a nationally conscious Livonian intelligentsia under Estonian and Finnish schooling, but they were not given teachers' posts in their own villages. The Latvians also refused to pay regular salaries to teachers of the Livonian language but gave them only pocket money. In answer to the Livonians' petitions to grant them some money for printing books in Livonian, a big library in Latvian was sent to them. In Livonian villages four branches of the Latvian cultural societies were organized. The above-mentioned measures all served one purpose: the quick Latvianization of the handful of Livonians still left.

[166] During the second World War the Livonians were sent again away from their seacoast homes to their neighbors, the Latvians. Undoubtedly this again deprived them of many of their kinsmen. The complete Latvianization of the few Livonians who have remained is, at any rate, a question of only a few decades.